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SUPPLEMENT TO  
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\* This is a preliminary report summarizing the available monitored foreign radio reactions to the Voice of America during the year from 1 May 1947 to 1 May 1948; the material was taken from monitored broadcasts published in the FBIB DAILY REPORTS. At a later date, an attempt will be made to compare the foreign radio reactions with the material actually broadcast by the Voice of America.

**\*\* Most of the available monitored reactions consists of hostile comment from the Moscow radio and from radios in the Soviet satellite sphere of Europe.**

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Throughout many years, the German radio in Goebbels' hands was a weapon to disrupt the German people, a source of misinformation and calumnies, the herald of war, murder, and an inhuman racial theory. In order to hear this old, well-known stuff again, slightly trimmed to the democratic theme, one only needs to tune in to, say, the wavelength of New York.

"From that station, we hear instructive talks on the need to set up American world leadership, on imperialist plans for the establishment of strategic positions in the Middle and Near East, and hypocritical calls for a crusade against Communism, Socialism, and the trade unions—in fact, against any democratic movement—and libelous inventions about the countries of the new democracy and much more in the same vein." (Moscow, in Czech and Slovak, 7 May 1947)

FREQUENCY OF SOVIET AND SATELLITE ATTACK

Over the past year, available monitored foreign radio comment on the Voice of America has been limited almost exclusively to condemnatory statements emanating from Moscow and its satellite transmitters.<sup>1/</sup> Attacks in monitored broadcasts from satellite transmitters have been approximately one-half as frequent as those appearing in broadcasts from the Soviet radio;<sup>2/</sup> during the period May through December 1947, the Soviet radio attacked the Voice of America on the average of somewhat less than once a week; and since December 1947, the frequency of these attacks from Moscow has reached the average of at least one a week.<sup>3/</sup> But, compared to the total broadcast output of Moscow and/or its satellites, this cannot be considered anything like a fully mounted overt war-of-words campaign against the American radio.

THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE—TO DISCREDIT THE VOICE OF AMERICA

The primary objective of Soviet and satellite comments on the Voice of America is to discredit the credibility, objectivity, honesty, trustworthiness, and general morality of the latter as completely as possible. This objective appears as a single common element underlying all references to the Voice of America, in whatever context. In addition to explicit assertion and direct refutation of the identified "lies," "calumnies," "slanders," and the like, emanating from the Voice of America, Moscow resorts to a name-calling type of "propaganda analysis"—attempting thereby to stigmatize

<sup>1/</sup> As a result of which, this report becomes, in effect, a survey of Soviet and satellite propaganda relative to Voice of America broadcasts; and on this subject, there is little to distinguish between Moscow's radio propaganda and that of the satellites.

<sup>2/</sup> Relative to the much smaller total number of available broadcasts from the satellites, however, the attacks are proportionately more frequent in them than in the broadcasts from Moscow.

<sup>3/</sup> Including broadcasts which exclusively, partially, or only incidentally attack the Voice of America.

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the Voice of America with generalized charges that it consistently ignores and omits significant facts, that it attempts to divert attention from unsavory aspects of the American scene and of American policy, that it beams different and contradictory reports to different audiences, that its vaunted objectivity is spurious, that in selecting only biased press opinions and articles for quotation it stacks the cards in its own favor, that its avowed support of democracy is only verbal and hypocritical, that it uses demagogic anti-Communist appeals like those of Goebbels.

#### CONTENT OF SOVIET AND SATELLITE BROADCASTS

In terms of the substantive content of the attacks, Soviet and satellite comments on the Voice of America do not differ significantly--except in emphasis--from the general pattern of their total radio output. Derogation of the Voice of America is repeatedly used as a sort of peg on which to hang reiteration of ever-present themes. As to the differences in emphasis, defined in terms of relative volume of broadcast attention, there have been three primary subject-matter areas with reference to the Voice of America around which Soviet and satellite broadcasts have centered. Briefly spelled out, there has been:

- (a) A strong concentration on the satellite area, the chief single theme being that the Voice of America is lying when it claims that there is a lack of freedom or democracy in the "new democracies" of eastern Europe.
- (b) An insistence that Voice of America maliciously blundered in predicting an economic crisis in the Soviet Union at the time of the currency reform.
- (c) An insistence that the Voice of America is lying when it claims that America is democratic, that the common people in the U.S. are either free or prosperous.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET AND SATELLITE BROADCASTS

The distribution of monitored Soviet broadcasts countering and maligning the Voice of America suggests a special effort to discredit Voice of America broadcasts to and about the Soviet satellites; a heavy plurality of Soviet broadcasts attacking the Voice of America has been beamed to the "new democracies" of eastern Europe, the chief theme being that mentioned in paragraph (a) above. (Equivalent satellite broadcasts are beamed almost entirely to satellite audiences and concentrate on the same theme.)

The next most frequent recipient of Soviet broadcasts derogating the Voice of America is North America--suggesting a secondary effort to discredit the Voice of America in the eyes of the American "taxpayers" who foot the bill and who, as one broadcast says, would be "enraged" if they realized the sort of rosy picture of American life that is being painted for the benefit of gullible European listeners.

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On the other hand, Soviet Home Service broadcast references to the Voice of America are few and far between. (Even Ehrenburg's slashing attack, printed in *CULTURE AND LIFE* shortly after the initiation of Russian-language Voice of America broadcasts, did not appear in monitored broadcasts of the Soviet Home Service (or on any beam, for that matter); and Ehrenburg's reply to David Lawrence's subsequent "Open Letter to a Russian Journalist" was broadcast only in English to North America.) Soviet Home Service broadcasts that have explicitly attacked the Voice of America have included a defense of the Soviet currency reform against the "slanders" from the Voice of America, a defense of the French Communists, a denial that Greece is threatened by its northern neighbors, a reminder that there are "three million unemployed" in the United States, and a long anecdote (depicting police brutality against strikes in the U.S.) used to imply that Voice of America claims about freedom and democracy in the U.S. are sheer hypocrisy.

#### LISTENING BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Neither the Soviet nor the satellite radios venture often into consideration of private listening to the Voice of America on their side of the Iron Curtain, but there have been occasional references to the subject. While they avoid explicit attention to the amount of listening, these references are so framed as to give the impression that there is as much freedom to listen to Voice of America programs as to any other--except, of course, that the listeners' reaction to the allegedly transparent Voice of America "slanders" and "distortions" is spontaneous and widespread indignation. For example, a Soviet Home Service broadcast of 25 December 1947 referred to the "lying broadcasts" which have "more than once evoked the indignation of the workers of our country." A Hungarian-language Moscow broadcast of 19 March 1948 speaks of an "official Hungarian reply to the slanders of the Voice of America," a reply which is said to have been "received with great satisfaction both in Hungary and abroad"--the implication appearing to be that many persons had listened to the "slanders" and were glad to have them answered. And, giving the impression that Soviet listening to Voice of America broadcasts is taken for granted as a perfectly natural type of behavior, an English-language broadcast to North America (26 May 1947) consists of a "letter" from a Soviet radio listener who begins his correspondence with the sentence: "Last Thursday when I tuned in to the Voice of America, I learned of the acquittal of the lynchers of an American Negro."

In any event, one thing is clear: the Soviet and satellite radios do not claim that the amount of listening is negligible. There is also no suggestion of any effort

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to discourage listening to non-Soviet radios. And at least one monitored commentary, from the Soviet-controlled Berlin radio, points with pride to complete freedom to listen. The commentator, Michael Storm, had just been to Warsaw, and his visit coincided with "the BBC report that listening to foreign radio stations had been banned in Poland. Everybody in Warsaw laughed because they knew this to be untrue. As a matter of fact, the papers even publish in Polish the program previews for the BBC and the Voice of America." (Berlin, in German, 22 April 1948)

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## II. GENERAL "LIES" ATTRIBUTED BY MOSCOW AND SATELLITES TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA

Among the "general lies" attributed to the Voice of America, Moscow focusses primarily upon three: the claim that the Soviet satellites are not democratic; the predictions of a Soviet economic crisis in December; and the claim that America is a good place in which to live.

### A. THE "NEW DEMOCRACIES" ARE NOT UNDEMOCRATIC

The chief single theme, in all of the available monitored Soviet broadcast material related to the Voice of America, is that the American radio is lying when it claims that there is a lack of freedom and democracy in "the new democracies of eastern and south-eastern Europe." References to the Voice of America in comments on this area (both by Moscow and by the radio stations in the satellites themselves) are far more frequent, relatively, than in comments on any other part of the world; and in these references by far the most frequent theme is that, contrary to Voice of America broadcasts, democracy does exist in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the other countries of the Soviet orbit.

In large part, the method by which Moscow attempts to discredit the Voice of America consists of simple name-calling; it is accused of lying, slander, calumny, "spreading unrest," and trying to "renew the supremacy" of western monopolists in eastern Europe. For example:

"Day after day the New York radio heaps a spate of slander upon the countries of popular democracy." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 12 March 1948)

"The Voice of America is rightly called in Hungary 'the voice of the American inciters, the most reactionary imperialist slanderers and warmongers.'" (Moscow, in Hungarian, 19 March 1948)

In this connection an obvious attempt is made to play upon the national pride of the countries involved, with assertions that these countries themselves--and not merely their Soviet-supported parties and regimes--are being "slandered":

"Broadcasting in Italian, it (the Voice of America) calumniates the French, and vice versa; and in all languages it calumniates the new democratic nations." (Moscow, in French, 25 December 1947)

"For the last few days the broadcasting station 'Voice of the Dollar' has incessantly insulted Rumania." (Bucharest, in Rumanian, 6 November 1947)

There are also some replies to general statements about the satellites, such as the statement that they form a "bloc":

"The other day the Voice of America presented things as if the agreements recently concluded between the eastern European countries proved nothing more or less than the setting up of an eastern bloc." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 30 November 1947) (No reason is given for believing that they are not a "bloc"; Moscow simply redefines the situation in terms of voluntary cooperation between countries which are no longer plagued by "the enmity and strife encouraged for centuries from abroad.")

In the main, however, the Soviet replies to the Voice of America are set in the context of a specific satellite nation, and include familiar arguments (though seldom descending to very specific facts) on particular aspects of "freedom" or "democracy." It is claimed, for instance, that opposition parties do exist, that the Communists are not in complete control (since coalition governments are in power), that the governments are supported by majorities, that private property is permitted, and that the statements of Nagy and other "traitors" are utterly untrustworthy.

1. Hungary: Moscow is particularly vociferous in defending the new Hungarian "democracy" against "falsehoods" emanating from the Voice of America. As far back as 15 May 1947, it attacked "distortions" of the Hungarian picture by criticizing a broadcast article by George Fielding Eliot. With approving references to the then Premier, Ferenc Nagy, Moscow argued that Eliot slandered the recent Soviet-Hungarian commercial agreement, and that he was totally wrong in asserting that the Soviet zone of Austria formed part of an "iron curtain" around Hungary.

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"With no qualms at all, the writer goes on to claim that the Soviet-Hungarian commercial agreement contains hardly any benefits for Hungary and, in his view, even destroys the country's economic independence. We would like to suggest that Eliot should become familiar with, say, Premier Ferenc Nagy's recent speech, the more so as the latter might be even conversant with the results of the Soviet-Hungarian commercial agreement. ... Unfortunately, George Eliot prefers to ignore facts. Quite seriously he makes the point that in view of the existence of the Soviet zone of Austria, separating Hungary from the West, the latter country is in no position to establish contact with the western world. It is difficult to understand that the road which links Hungary with the west should cross Austria--of all countries. We are aware that Hungary, without making use of George Eliot's prescription, has by now established economic relations with a number of western and northern countries, including the United States." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 15 May 1947)

The picture had changed somewhat when Moscow next attacked the Voice of America for again "distorting the Hungarian truth." By then, Ferenc Nagy was no longer the country's Premier, whom it was useful to quote, but had turned into a "traitor" and a "discredited politician" who, by broadcasting from New York, served the cause of the enemies of Hungarian democracy--that is, the "Wall Street monopolists." On 22 August 1947, Moscow said:

"In their campaign against Hungary, influential American circles are now using a man whose conscience is burdened with many crimes. This man is Ferenc Nagy who, after fleeing in a cowardly way to the U.S., has now become a flunkey of American reaction and the leading expert of these reactionaries in their machinations against Hungarian independence. He has now reached a stage where he takes an open stand under the auspices of the Voice of America. ...

"The task of the American impresario, however, was not an easy one in taking under his wings this discredited and fake politician whose game is played out in Hungarian life. ... The dirty dealings of this renegade, who exchanged the voice of the Hungarian man for the Voice of America, are doomed to failure." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 22 August 1947)

It is argued that Hungary is not governed "exclusively" by the Communist Party, and that an absolute majority of 76 percent supports the "democratic coalition":

"It is not the first time that the New York radio advances the senseless argument that Hungary is being governed exclusively by the Communist Party. It pretends to ignore the fact that Hungary is governed by a coalition composed of four democratic parties. ... How long will the New York radio deny that the Hungarian Government enjoys the support of the absolute majority of the people? The New York radio refuses to accept facts, such as, for instance, that the democratic coalition in Parliament counts 76 percent of all votes, and that many important draft bills were recently approved even by the opposition parties." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 13 January 1948)

There is also freedom of the press:

"The truth is that the leading papers of the opposition ... have a wide circulation and are sold freely and publicly." (in Hungarian, 12 March 1948)

"Everybody walking along the streets of Budapest may see with his own eyes that the American allegations (attributed to a Voice of America broadcast on 7 March) do not correspond with the truth. ... The official Hungarian communiqué of refutation equally rejects the American allegation that the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY is under Communist control." (MTI, Hungarian Press Service, in French, Hellschreiber to Europe, 9 March 1948)

Later the same day, the Hungarian Home Service added that Voice of America had claimed that Communist control extended also to films. "But on the very day this statement was made, even Communist-owned cinemas were showing American films." Finally, the Voice of America is said to have alleged that proceedings had been started in Hungary against lawyers who had only done their duty in political trials by defending the accused. "This statement is simply untrue."

As for Peyer, he was simply a "spy," and the Voice of America was assertedly hard put to it to defend his contact with the U.S. diplomatic mission:

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"Four days ago, a court in Budapest began to try a spy organization headed by Peyer, who himself has fled from Hungary. The criminals conspired to overthrow the democratic Republic of Hungary. ...

"Across the ocean, Peyer's exposure has created obvious embarrassment. The Voice of America has been trying to find some streamlined formula to qualify the behavior of the U.S. official representatives in Budapest, but has clearly failed in this. Having confirmed that Peyer's conspirators were in contact with the U.S. diplomatic mission in Budapest, the best Voice of America could think of was to state that this was a 'correct' contact." (Moscow, in English to the United Kingdom, 8 February 1948)

2. Czechoslovakia: The new "popular democratic regime" is defended, and the treatment of Tigris and others is comparable to the treatment of Nagy and Peyer:

"The Anglo-American radio and press continue their hateful propaganda against Czechoslovakia's popular democratic regime. ... It is characteristic that these obvious lies are not broadcast in transmissions directed to Czechoslovakia, where everybody can immediately verify them. ...

"There is no doubt that after the flight abroad of such fascists as Tigris and other leading men of the National Socialist, Democratic, and People's Parties, the mendacious propaganda of the Anglo-American radio and press will increase, because these reactionary lackeys of Anglo-American imperialism were very active in this respect even when they still lived in Czechoslovakia. However, their barking will be of no avail. The recent events have unveiled all their treacherous activities which proved that they did not hesitate to sell their nation to Anglo-American imperialism." (Moscow, in Czech, 8 March 1948)

3. Bulgaria: The existence of democracy in Bulgaria is insisted upon, with similar arguments. The mere existence of "opposition" parties is again treated as a sufficient answer to American "libel," and "protection" of private property is asserted.

"In their helpless rage, the enemies of Bulgaria spread calumnies about the country. Particular dexterity in libeling Bulgaria is displayed by the Voice of America. It is enough to recall the transmitter's lies about the Fatherland Front Congress. It was asserted, for instance, that the new Fatherland Front program provides for the liquidation of all parties, except the Communist Party. The entire Bulgarian people know that this is an impudent lie, since the political parties are not being liquidated. The Voice of America also said that the program will abolish private property. This, too, is a lie, for private property is protected by the Bulgarian Constitution.

"The so-called democrats from overseas advise the Bulgarian people to return to the monarchist constitution, which enabled the Germans to gain control of Bulgaria. Maybe the Voice of America is so angry with the new constitution precisely because it proclaims that the country's wealth belongs to the Bulgarian people, thus ending the rule of foreign capital over Bulgaria." (Moscow, in Rumanian, 6 February 1948)

4. Others: Poland, too, is pictured as a country of freedom. When the BBC claimed that "listening in to foreign radio stations had been banned in Poland," it is asserted that everybody in Warsaw laughed, because they knew this to be untrue. "As a matter of fact, the papers even published in Polish the program previews of the BBC and the Voice of America." Mikolajczyk's articles in the JOURNAL AMERICAN, broadcast by the Voice of America, are dismissed as not worth answering: "Minister Grosz declared, 'We do not intend to argue with Mr. Mikolajczyk. As far as his trustworthiness is concerned, it is enough to read what some American, British, and even some reactionary Polish papers in London wrote about this question in mocking Mr. Mikolajczyk's attempts.' (Warsaw, in Polish, 13 February 1948)

In the available monitored material, there is little said about the Voice of America with reference to Rumania; and almost nothing with reference to Yugoslavia or Albania, apart from a denial of a reported Voice of America claim that Yugoslav and Albanian help is being given to what Moscow calls the Greek "fighters for freedom." There is, however, one broadcast in which Macek and Gavrilovic are ranked with "Geneto" (G.M. Dimitrov) and Nagy as a quartet of U.S.-sponsored traitors:

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"On July 3, 1947, the new quartet made their debut on Radio New York in a special broadcast to Hungary. The members of this quartet were Macek, Gavrilovic, Gemeto and Nagy--traitors to their motherland.

"When they talk about the United States of Europe, in their mind is first of all the campaign against democracy and the independence of the peoples. ...

"In America, difficulties are made for Wallace and other progressive leaders to propagate their views, but traitors are allowed to speak on Radio New York. The quartet, Macek, Gavrilovic, Gemeto, Nagy, judging the program by its first performance, can rightly claim the name, 'The quartet of his majesty, the dollar.'" (Moscow, in Bulgarian, 12 July 1947)

### B. THE SOVIET CURRENCY REFORM WAS NOT AN ECONOMIC CRISIS

The one event which has called forth the largest amount of monitored Soviet radio reaction to Voice of America has been the latter's handling of the Soviet "currency reform" instituted in December 1947. In general, abstract economic discussion was avoided; the whole tone of the discussion was, rather, that the Voice of America made a colossal and transparent blunder, since, as all Soviet citizens knew, the reform was a great achievement and meant an immediate increase in the living standard of the people.

#### 1. The "Canard" About a Rise in Prices: The predictions of a forthcoming "economic crisis" before the event were ridiculed:

"On December 3 the New York transmitter, called the 'Voice of America' although it would be far better to call it the 'Vociferations of American Reactionaries,' broadcast in 23 languages a sensational news bulletin. It was about the forthcoming rise in prices in the Soviet Union. The so-called free American press immediately seized upon this canard. On the following day, morning and afternoon papers in New York, Washington, Chicago, and other cities commented on what they called the news received from a reliable source about new restrictions for the Soviet population.

"Talking first about a rise in prices, the Americans then announced that an economic crisis was imminent in the USSR. ... Senator Lucas spoke about the 'possibility' of a complete disintegration of Soviet economy.

"On December 14 there came a piece of news which was distinctly disagreeable--monetary reform and the abolition of the rationing system in the USSR. This proved that the honorable senators had dropped an awful brick and made a grievous mistake. ... December 14 can therefore be considered as a black day for U.S. propaganda." (Moscow, in French, 22 December 1947)

#### 2. Real Wages and Small Savings Were Safeguarded: The impression was given that practically no one in the Soviet Union lost anything as a result of the change. Workers' wages and collective farmers' incomes will be "paid out at the same rates in new money," small bondholders will be fully compensated, and all bondholders will be compensated "soon":

"The Voice of America pretends that the Soviet Government's decision will result in a fall in real wages and in the standard of life of the Soviet people. To create this impression among its hearers it ignores the main thing--that the wages and incomes of collective farmers from State deliveries, as well as... other sources of income from work, are not affected by the reform and will be paid out at the same rates in new money....

"As for the U.S. radio station's claim that the decree of the Ministers' Council does not take into consideration the interests of those with small savings, this is only the usual kind of misinformation intended for the gullible. The decision of the Soviet Government says in black and white: savings deposits up to 3,000 rubles will be fully reimbursed in new money, and those from 3 to 10 thousand rubles at the exchange rate of 2 new rubles for 3 of the old. Thus, obvious preference is given holders of small savings, and the Voice of America is lying seriously when it says anything to the contrary." (Moscow, in English to North America, 20 December 1947)

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3. An Attempt to Cover Up the Inflation in America: In this context, too, Moscow resorts to a propaganda device which is always available--the counter-accusation that its enemies are only trying to "divert attention" from their own defects:

"The Voice of America indulges in slander apparently in the hope of concealing the fact that in the U.S. some big monopolies are draining the working people of every hard-earned penny by pushing up prices of food and other consumers' goods.

"This big noise made about the alleged economic crisis in the USSR was meant to divert the attention of the American people from the far more real threat of an impending crisis in the United States." (Moscow, in French, 21 December 1947)

#### C. AMERICA IS NOT A "PARADISE"

Criticism of the United States ranks with affirmation of satellite "democracy" and with praise of the Soviet currency reform among the three chief subjects of monitored Soviet and satellite broadcasts devoted to the Voice of America. In general, the criticism follows standard lines; various American broadcasts are simply taken as the occasion for criticisms which are thoroughly familiar in other contexts (see weekly SUPPLY OF USSR RADIO BROADCASTS, FBI, CIA). It is noted that Wallace and other "progressives" are not permitted to speak on the Voice of America; that the alleged hostility of the Voice of America to "democracy" in general is a result of Wall Street's control over the American Government; and that the fascist tendencies of the Voice of America are like those of Goebbels. A broadcast by William Green is the occasion for denouncing him as a collaborator with capitalists and for expatiating on the exploitation of labor in the United States, with the further assertion that "in Green's paradise" there are not 3 million unemployed, as officially claimed, but 8 million. (Moscow, in Rumanian, 7 January 1948) Inflation is much stressed; economic inequality is described; military influence on government is discussed; and Wallace's strength and popularity are advertised.

1. No True Democracy: The most prominent single criticism, in the available material, is that civil rights and true democracy do not exist in the United States. For example, one long broadcast, purporting to be a letter written by a Soviet radio listener who expresses disappointment over the acquittal of lynchers and discusses at length the problem of racial bigotry in the United States, is introduced as follows:

"Last Thursday when I tuned in to the Voice of America I learned of the acquittal of the lynchers of an American Negro. The report was brief and without comment. I would possibly not have been so surprised had I not heard the same Voice of America report earlier, and with much more detail, that the lynchers had been brought to trial." (in English to North America, 26 May 1947)

Another broadcast pursues the same theme of racial intolerance, using Paul Robeson as an example, and broadens out to include intolerance against all who "hold progressive views":

"On the very day when the Soviet radio broadcast a record of Paul Robeson, this great singer was forced to leave the American town of Peori, Illinois, and was forbidden to appear at a concert where he was expected by the audience. The local fascist organizations, which terrorize the town corporation and the representatives of the faculty of music which originally invited Robeson, saw not only that the concert was banned but that a general ban was put on the public appearances in the state of any speaker or artist holding progressive views. ... But to make up for it the New York radio broadcast to the world an interview with a personal friend of Goering's--the American fascist, Charles Lindbergh." (in Czech and Slovak, 7 May 1947)

And, heightening the contrast, the satellites are described as representing "genuine democracy":

"How useless cynicism and hypocrisy are required on the part of certain people, as for instance the New York radio, to describe the U.S. as the land of promise of democracy, and to dare teach democracy to other countries, including Hungary, whose people are advancing along the road of genuine democracy." (in Hungarian, 13 January 1948)

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A broadcast devoted primarily to vilifying the Voice of America as a new version of Goebbels' type of propaganda makes a similar attempt to heighten the contrast by describing a radically different state of affairs in the Soviet Union. Disarming the counter-accusation that the Moscow radio is as completely "socialist" as the New York radio is completely "capitalist," it advances the familiar argument that in the land of socialism there simply are no "capitalists" to "pay lavishly for lies" as they do in the United States.

"Some people accuse us Soviet people of being excessively sensitive to untrue reports. But the crux of the matter is that in the clean air of our Soviet country there is no room for calumnies and mendacious sensations. We are choosy only because we are decent. Soviet information is objective because it has nothing to conceal. In our country there are no monopolist groups which pay lavishly for lies. Soviet radio commentators and journalists simply express the views of the Soviet people; but beyond the frontiers of the USSR there are people who get very cross with the Soviet radio because, for instance, no followers of capitalism ever come to our microphone. But what we have not, we haven't got. In our country there are no followers of capitalism, just as there is no capitalism itself." (Moscow, in Czech and Slovak, 7 May 1948)

In this deceptively simple argument, at least two points are of special interest from the standpoint of propaganda technique. One is the pose of objectivity. In the condescending, gently ironical description of those who "get very cross" with the Soviet radio, and in the reference to the "clean air" of the Soviet Union (with connotations of health and mental balance), there is a clear effort to convey the impression that the Soviet radio does not engage in "propaganda," as the Voice of America does, but is simply sitting back and realistically describing plain facts. This illustrates a general characteristic of the tone of Soviet broadcasts. While there is often out-and-out denunciation, there is at the same time an apparently studied effort to avoid extremes of melodramatic appeal, and to preserve the pose of a dignified, realistic observer of outrageous facts--facts which include the vicious non-objectivity of the aggressive capitalist enemy. In this respect there is a sharp contrast between the tone of Moscow and, for example, the much more unrestrained emotionalism of the radio of the "Greek Democratic Army."

Another point to be noticed is the complex implications of the simple dichotomy, "capitalism vs. socialism" (a dichotomy which is, however, much less frequent in post-war Soviet foreign broadcasts than "reaction vs. democracy," or "imperialism vs. democracy"). Associated with it is the characteristic implied denial of any true socialism in the west, and of anything other than socialism (or "democracy") in the present Soviet ideology. The statement that there are no Soviet "capitalists" is made in a context which seems to imply that every Soviet citizen is not only a "socialist," but also spontaneously subscribes to every one of the current official Soviet axioms--including the condemnations of U.S. imperialism, U.S. "war mongering," the diabolical aims of the Marshall Plan, and the reactionary aims of Stalin and Devlin.

2. The "Voice of America" is Not the Voice of America: The accusation that the American "people" do not control their alleged "Voice" is made in many forms. For example, Congressional control of the purse-strings (with Congress described as "reactionary") is asserted:

"During the debate in the U.S. Congress on supplementary credits for foreign broadcasts, many Congressmen openly declared that they would not support them unless they were given guarantees that these broadcasts would be made in certain spirit--needless to say, a reactionary spirit. They now have these guarantees." (Moscow, in French, 25 December 1947)

The "New York Radio" has been renamed by Soviet commentators "The Voice of the Dollar," "The Voice of the Inciters," and "The Vociferations of American Reactionaries." Its writers have been called "bourgeois hack writers" who, "when their bosses require it, are ready to prove that twice two makes a tallow candle." There is also an especially interesting appeal to the interests of "the plain American taxpayer"--beamed directly to the United States:

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"There's much that's being done today in the name of the American people, and at their expense, about which they haven't the slightest idea. For one thing, I mean the radio propaganda for Europe which is being conducted by people who speak as representatives of the United States nation and are paid from the pockets of U.S. taxpayers.

"It goes without saying that the ordinary farmer in Kansas, the miner in Pennsylvania, the shop clerk in New York, or the school teacher in California, has no idea what is being said daily over the radio in his name, in many different languages. ...

"If the American man on the street could see how the Voice of America, which is subsidized from the national budget, is trying to picture his life to Europeans, he would be simply enraged, I have no doubt. It appears that the ordinary American residing in New York City spends the Christmas holidays in the orange groves of California, and he makes the trip there by express train and returns by plane. He's not at all surprised when he has to pay \$5.75 for a rather poor dinner on the train, and so forth." (Moscow's "Analyzer," in English to North America, 6 March 1948)

#### D. OTHER DENIALS

In addition to the three major denials discussed above, there are a number of others, most of which are repetitions of propaganda themes that are familiar in other contexts. For example, it is denied:

That the CCT in France follows Communist orders.

That Italian Communists and Socialists are foreign agents.

That "voting for the Communist Party would deprive the French of bread."

That America is supporting democracy in Greece.

That American policy in Italy is "disinterested."

That America and Britain are following a peace-loving policy in Trieste.

That there is slave-labor in the Soviet Union.

That there is compulsory overtime or exploitation of labor in Soviet industry. (Evidence: overtime occurs only "in special cases" and is paid at 1.5 or 2 times the usual rate.)

That Soviet trade unions are not free. (Evidence: recent elections in unions, with secret ballot.)

#### III. SPECIFIC "LIES" ATTRIBUTED TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA

There are only 7 instances, in the available material, in which "lies" are alleged to have been told on very specific, tangible points:

##### 1. That Rumania's National Liberal Party Did Not Take Part in Elections:

"The New York radio declared that the opposition groups in Rumania, including the National Liberal Party, refused to take part in the elections. This does not coincide with the facts. Bejan, the leader of the National Liberal Party, which won seven seats in the assembly, has announced publicly that his party is satisfied with the results of the election." (Moscow, in English to North America, 8 April 1948)

##### 2. That Maniu Died in Prison Prior to His Trial:

"For the last few days the broadcasting station, 'Voice of the Dollar,' has incessantly insulted Rumania. The great preoccupation of the gentlemen speaking is the present trial of Maniu and his accomplices.... Let us be methodical and recall facts. Before the trial began, the same station broadcast that Maniu had died from ill treatment in prison. A few days ago the news regarding assassination

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was announced. Can a station be called serious when it broadcasts such news without even bothering to deny it later?" (Bucharest, Rumanian Home Service, 6 November 1947)

3. That Drtina (Czechoslovak Minister of Justice) Was Murdered:

The Voice of America, "in its Russian Bulletin, stated that Drtina, the National Socialist Minister of Justice, had been murdered and found in his apartment with a smashed skull. The Voice of America knows very well that this is a stupid lie and therefore cannot be included in its Czech bulletin, because everybody in Czechoslovakia knows that Drtina was not murdered, but attempted suicide." (Moscow, in Czech, 8 March 1948)

4. That in the Petkov Case Bulgaria Disputed Article 2 of the Peace Treaty:

"In the declaration made by a representative of the British Foreign Office broadcast by BBC and the Voice of America on October 3, concerning the reply of the Bulgarian Government to the protest note of the British Government regarding Petkov's execution, it is asserted that the Bulgarian Government disputed Britain's right to take measures for securing the application of Article 2 of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria.

"The above-mentioned assertion is untrue because the Bulgarian Government did not dispute in any way the application of Article 2 of the Peace Treaty, but stated that the case of Petkov's execution does not come under the jurisdiction of this article. Petkov was sentenced for his conspiratorial and illegal activities directed against the country's security. Article 2 of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria cannot provide protection for people who are accused of such activities." (Sofia, Bulgarian Home Service, 7 October 1947)

5. That Calas, Communist Deputy, Called on French Troops to Rebel:

"Lies are the watchword of the Voice of America. Among others, it reported that Raoul Calas, Communist deputy, had called upon French troops to rebel against the Government, while—and this is confirmed by the shorthand report of the Assembly's meeting—he asked French soldiers not to be murderers, and to refuse to shoot their brothers, the strikers." (Moscow, in French, 25 December 1947)

6. That French Strikers Were Responsible for Train Disasters:

"As an incitement, the Voice of America reported that the railwaymen on strike were responsible for the train disasters, ignoring the railwaymen's official statement which proves that they were engineered by Gaullist provocateurs." (Moscow, in French, 25 December 1947)

7. That Soviet Wages Are Low (Ignoring Social Services):

"The slanderers of the Voice of America keep quiet about the fact that, in addition to wages, workers in the USSR are receiving special (compensation) in the form of insurance, in the form of free medical assistance, yearly vacations at Government expense; that hundreds of thousands of the workers in the USSR enjoy the free facilities of sanatoria and homes of rest; that the Soviet Government is appropriating huge sums of money for the purpose of health maintenance, for education, for public buildings and the construction of dwellings, for the purpose of building new playgrounds, for the purpose of helping mothers, and so forth." (Moscow, in Russian to the Soviet Far East, 25 December 1947)

IV. PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES ATTRIBUTED TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA

Moscow describes a number of propaganda techniques as characteristic of the Voice of America; and they are of interest if only from the standpoint of the hypothesis that they reflect techniques actually used by the Soviet radio itself. A psychologist would easily argue, on the basis of this material, that the Soviet radio is "projecting" a portrait of itself in describing its arch-opponent. For example, in addition to the standard charges of lying, slander, hypocrisy, and subservience to the "ruling circle" in its own nation, the Voice of America is accused of: (1) ignoring or omitting significant facts, (2) trying to divert attention from its own defects, (3) beaming different things to different audiences, (4) pretending to be objective, (5) stacking quotations from "biased" news sources, (6) pretending to stand for democracy, and (7) resembling Goebbels.

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1. Ignoring Significant Facts:

"In the past these broadcasts (on the London Conference) ignored the statements made by the delegates of the USSR and the new democratic countries. This time they are altered, while by contrast the speeches of British and U.S. delegates were loudly advertised and their weaker and more contradictory statements pushed into the background." (Moscow, in French, 25 December 1947)

"The New York radio passes over in silence the fact that millions of people in the U.S. are filled with anxiety at the Truman-Marshall trend." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 13 January 1948)

"The American radio keeps quiet about the Hungarian reply to the slanders of the Voice of America." (Moscow, in Hungarian, 19 March 1948)

2. Diverting Attention:

"This big noise made about the alleged economic crisis in the USSR was meant to divert the attention of the American people from the far more real threat of an impending crisis in the United States." (Moscow, in French, 21 December 1947)

3. Beaming Different Things to Different Audiences:

"Broadcasting in Italian it calumniates the French, and vice versa." (Moscow, in French, 25 December 1947)

"All aspects of any situation are presented by the Voice of America either in a sweet and warm, or aggressive, or pleasant, or amiable tone, according to the country to which the broadcast is beamed." (Bucharest, in Rumanian, 23 October 1947)

4. Pretending to be Objective:

"All this chatter about objectivity is just a cloak for tendentious information." (Moscow, in Czech and Slovak, 9 May 1947)

"The form of objective quotations from newspapers was chosen to disguise the true intentions of the American radio." (Moscow, in Czech and Slovak, 9 January 1948)

5. Stacking Quotations from Biased News Sources:

Condemning Voice of America broadcasts about the Soviet currency reform, Moscow criticizes the choice of press articles, particularly from Turkish and Chinese newspapers, used for quotation. These articles are said to have come "from reactionary papers saturated with hatred of the Soviet Union and envious of such impressive triumphs"—articles which the Voice of America "obviously went to a great deal of trouble to select." Furthermore, the Voice of America "selected the most illiterate comment about the Soviet currency reform on which it could lay hands," an "understandable" technique since the Voice of America "has become one of the loudest mouthpieces of this anti-Soviet slander campaign." (Moscow, in Czech and Slovak, 9 January 1948)

6. Pretending to be Democratic:

"While the Voice of America speaks of freedom and democracy, the reactionary clique of Makinos-Tsaldaris, encouraged by U.S. aid, exterminates notable representatives of the Greek people, the fighters for freedom and democracy." (Moscow, in Greek, 15 May 1947)

7. Resembling Goebbels (i.e., Demagogic Red-Baiting):

"Europe has already heard this kind of demagogical propaganda based on anti-Communist slogans, and knows it for what it is worth." (Moscow, in French, 23 December 1947)

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V. RIDICULE AND ANECDOTE

Nearly all of the Soviet and satellite reactions to the Voice of America are serious and heavy-handed in tone, but occasionally there have been some attempts at chiding ridicule. For instance, one broadcast jibes both at the Voice of America's handling of the Soviet currency reform and at the standard of living among American college professors:

"Although (the nature of the currency reform is) self-evident to all who have the least knowledge of economics, the Voice of America took pains to ferret out a certain professor of economics at Columbia University, who pretended to have discovered that it showed the existence of an economic crisis in the Soviet Union. It is quite possible that in view of the rising cost of living in the United States some U.S. professors will agree to anything that is asked of them, for a price. 'A lie does not cost much,' reads an old Russian saying." (in English to North America, 20 December 1947)

Another broadcast ridicules Congressmen who attempt to pass judgment on Poland after a visit of "48 hours":

"Congressman Gordon, on his return to America after a 48-hour visit to Poland, most of which he spent in bed or at dinner parties, released a series of slanderous articles pointed against democratic Poland and her leading figures. ... The American radio, Voice of America, said that every word uttered by Mr. Gordon about Poland will be published in official Congressional bulletins." (in English to North America, 26 November 1947)

A Rumanian broadcast refers to "rubicund and chubby imperialists" who are "shedding bitter tears" about Rumania:

"The broadcasting station, Voice of America, is shedding bitter tears over the fate of children of Europe, including the children of Rumania. Reproducing reports of an allegedly world-famous doctor created by the inflamed imagination of Uncle Sam, who has become lyrical in his old age, the speaker of Voice of America takes the liberty to make statements on the standard of life of children in Rumania--statements which honesty and the most elementary objectivity cannot accept. It is noteworthy that Voice of America is only today moved to pity for our children. When years ago, owing to the fault of past regimes--regimes so much cherished by the masters of the dollar world--infantile mortality was high and children were kept in misery and illiteracy, not a single transoceanic heart was touched. But they start shedding tears now when our democratic regime is fighting to heal these wounds left over from the past. ...

"Therefore we are not impressed by the mournfulness of Uncle Sam. We understand the tears shed by the millions of American humiliated and exploited people, because these tears are honest and sincere, (but) tears of rubicund and chubby imperialists no longer move us." (Bucharest, Rumanian Home Service, 10 December 1947)

There is also one long anecdote which refers to the Voice of America at only one point, but which seems to have as one of its main purposes a denunciation of the supposedly hypocritical character of American propaganda in general. It is also dramatic enough to warrant extensive quotation. The title is "The Knuckle-Duster in Kid Gloves," and a parallel is drawn between the brutality of an American industrial policeman, who wears white kid gloves over a steel knuckle-duster, and the hidden brutality which lies behind the "velvety" Voice of America. The story opens abruptly in a trade-union meeting in Berlin.

"A grey-haired man in a worn-out suit... was in attendance at a meeting where a trade union delegation gave an account of their trip to Soviet Russia. ... (One delegate said) 'Only now have I learned what socialism and democracy really are.' At these words the old man jumped up. 'Bravo, bravo!' he shouted, and loud ovations swept the hall.

"The old German man's home was in the district of Neukoen. As I was going in the same direction towards the American sector we walked home together and had a chat. Richard Kuehler is a metal worker. He lived in America and during the war was interned and now had returned to his country. ... He was very disturbed by General Clay's statement that a regime will be set up in western Germany on an American pattern. ...

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"We stopped at the corner of the Keopenicker Strasse, where we had to part. The old man stopped, lit his pipe, and while we stood, a nearby house radio broadcast the velvety voice of the 'victorious': 'America is the country of freedom. There is no place for totalitarianism in America. Only in America is there democracy and personal freedom.' The old metal worker listened and suddenly spat angrily. 'American democracy knocked my teeth out,' he said, and turned to me and showed his toothless mouth. The old man then described how it happened. When he was in Chicago he took part in a strike. At the gates of the factory the strikers established pickets, he said, in order to prevent blacklegs breaking up the strike. But in America there is a law which prohibits the assembly of workers in front of the factory gate. Therefore the American industrial police, those criminals armed from head to toe, watched so the pickets could not prevent the entry of the blacklegs into the factory. The pickets had to walk in Indian file in a circle near the gates, and they must keep on the move all the time, for a momentary stop is an invitation to mobbing. Kuehler was one of the pickets.

"He watched a group of industrial police toughs in white kid gloves, with gas bombs hanging from their waists and tommy guns around their shoulders. Kuehler heard a lot about their brutality from his factory friends. Kuehler stopped only for a second and a policeman jumped at him; there was a blow from a hand in a white kid glove, and a man was on the ground. Kuehler bloodily spat out his front teeth. Underneath the white kid glove of the policeman there was a steel knuckle-duster." (Nikitin in IZVESTIA, quoted by Soviet Home Service, 26 December 1947)

#### VI. APPROVAL FROM FRANCE, GREECE, AND CHINA

Broadcasts from three definitely non-Soviet sources, in the available monitored foreign broadcast material, touch upon the Voice of America. All three are approving.

A Paris broadcast on 3 June regrets the end of broadcasts relayed by American transmitters at Algiers:

"With emotion the last broadcast of the Voice of America, relayed by the American transmitters at Algiers, was heard in France last Saturday. During this broadcast M. Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador, recalled the fraternal role played during the war by the American radio at Algiers." (Paris, in French to North America, 3 June 1947)

Similarly, a Nanking broadcast expresses sentiments of approval:

"As the leadership of the family of nations, the United States... is often being annoyed by malicious propaganda and scornful libel. This being so, the United States has to defend herself against such a battle of nerves. It would be deplorable to project the future outlook of the international relations if the United States were to... tolerate these... developments. It is really a wise policy for America to realize that Secretary of State George C. Marshall has recently (urged the continuance of) the broadcasting project, the Voice of America....

"America must clearly sweep away all the malicious propaganda, enlightening and relieving the psychological state of dissension of the people of the world. ... In the long run, we hope the world will gradually be diverted to the (belief that) what America has released through the radio is virtually true facts." (Nanking, in English, Overseas, 31 May 1947)

And an Athens broadcast expresses great appreciation for the moral support given, by way of the Voice of America, to the Greek Government in its conflict with the rebels. The comment occurred on 14 May 1947 and the occasion for it was a broadcast in which Marshall, Vandenberg and Benton spoke on the Greek situation. After referring to the great value of "yesterday's 'Voice of America,' yesterday's hymn to Greece, yesterday's call of free peoples to peace and freedom," the broadcast continues:

"Never has Greece been put in her rightful place so drastically and so well, as was done after yesterday's statement to Greece, made from over 4,000 miles away. ... The world's most powerful state decided, as from yesterday, to aid Greece definitely and effectively by every means. ... The internal and external enemies of Greece must have realized that any attempt to create disturbances or establish terrorism in the sacred land of Greece, this historic land whose voice, as Benton said yesterday, 'speaks to America through its ages, through its 2,500 years of history, its art, architecture and theater'—any such attempt is doomed to failure." (Athens, Greek Home Service, 14 May 1947)

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On the same day, Premier Maximos expressed "deepest satisfaction" with the Voice of America statements, and assured his "great friends" of "complete cooperation with the American Ambassador to Athens and the mission which will soon arrive in Greece." (Athens, Greek Home Service, 14 May 1947)

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